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CHAPTER 12

*Differential marking of intransitive subjects in Kambera (Austronesian)*¹

1. INTRODUCTION

Kambera is one of the five or six indigenous languages spoken in the eastern region of the island of Sumba in Eastern Indonesia. It has approximately 150,000 speakers, and it is classified as belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) subgroup of Austronesian languages.² Native speakers refer to the language as *hilu Humba*, the ‘Sumba language’ (in contrast to *hilu Jawa* ‘Indonesian’). In the literature it has been referred to as ‘Sumbaneesch’ (Wielenga 1909), ‘Sumba(a)sch’ (Onvlee 1925), ‘Kamberaas’ (Onvlee 1984), and ‘Bahasa Sumba/Kambera’ (Kapita 1982). Klammer (1998a) is a recent grammar of the language.³ The information presented in this chapter is based on a corpus of 12-hours of spontaneous speech, plus additional elicitation, collected in Sumba during 12 months of fieldwork between 1991 and 1994 in one village, Katàka.

This paper presents five different ways in which the single arguments of intransitive clauses in Kambera may be cross-referenced on the verb by pronominal clitics. The term ‘subject’ of the title of this paper refers to these clitics; there is no case marking on NPs in Kambera.⁴ The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents a brief grammatical overview of the language, focussing on the argument marking function of pronominal clitics. Section 3 describes the five markings of S

¹ Parts of this paper appeared as Klammer (1998b), and I would like to thank Helen de Hoop for suggesting that the data discussed in that paper might be a useful contribution to the 2004 Nijmegen workshop and the present volume. Two anonymous referees gave insightful comments and suggestions; their input is acknowledged with thanks. I also wish to thank Andrej Malchukov and Peter de Swart for their helpful comments.

² Blust (1993) is the most recent proposal regarding the constituency of the CMP subgroup, and contains references to earlier work on the subgrouping of languages of Eastern Indonesia. Note that unlike Tukang Besi, which belongs to the West Malayo Polynesian branch (Donohue, this volume), Kambera is only remotely related to well-known Phillipine-type languages like Tagalog, and does not share any of the unusual subject properties of it.

³ Readers interested to follow up on the Kambera data may also want to consult publications on Kambera that appeared subsequent to the 1998 grammar, including Klammer (2000, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005, 2006).

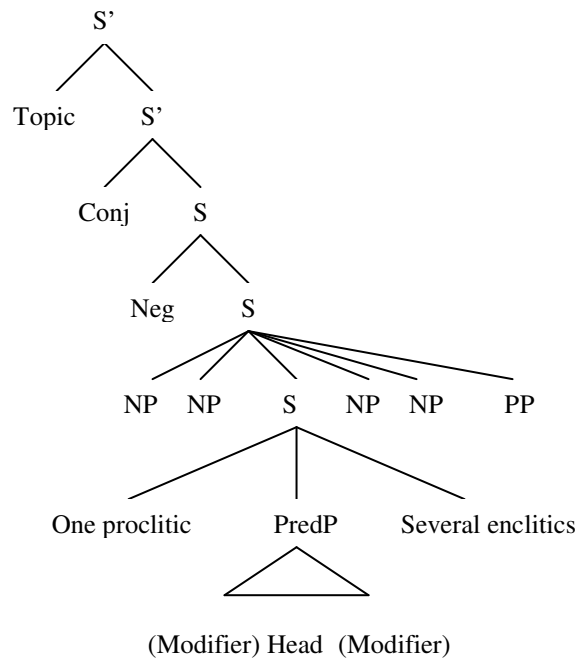
⁴ This is one of the more significant morpho-syntactic contrasts between Kambera and Tukang Besi (Donohue, this volume) and other Phillipine-type languages such as Tagalog.

arguments in Kambera. Section 4 presents a summary and discusses some general implications of the data.

2. GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW

Kambera is a head-marking language. A Kambera sentence is built on the basis of a ‘nuclear’ (or ‘minimal’) clause, which consists of a predicate phrase (PredP) (a verbal or nominal phrase that functions as the predicate of the clause) as well as a clitic cluster attached to that PredP.⁵ In the diagram in (1), the nuclear clause is dominated by the lowest S node. The diagram shows that this S, as well as the one above it, is a non-configurational structure, while the structure higher up the tree is clearly more hierarchical.

(1)



At the top of the diagram, we find a position for a topicalised, left-dislocated constituent; followed by positions for a conjunction and a negation. Adjoined to the

⁵ The PredP is a phrase since, apart from its head, it may contain up to two modifiers. In verbal predicates, modifiers (adverbs) are separate words occurring directly adjacent to the head (verb), while the clitic cluster attaches to the outer edge of the phrase that comprises head and modifier(s). An example of a complex PredP is the first clause of (17), which contains a head verb (*ita* ‘see’) and two modifiers (*lalu* ‘too’, *dí* ‘Emphasis’).

nuclear clause S, there are positions for optional NPs: maximally two precede S, maximally two follow it. Postpredicate NPs are followed by PP adjuncts. These NPs and PPs are within the scope of the negation and conjunction; they can only occur outside this domain when they are topicalised. (For motivation of (1), cf. Klammer 1998a:77-89).

The grammatical relations assumed for Kambera are subject (comprising S/A) and object (O).⁶ Kambera argument alignment uses a paradigm of free pronouns, four simple pronominal clitic sets, and one complex one which expresses S in continuative aspect. The paradigms are given in (2):

(2) Kambera pronouns and pronominal clitic paradigms

	<i>pronoun</i>	<i>NOM</i>	<i>GEN</i>	<i>ACC</i>	<i>DAT</i>	<i>Cont.aspect</i> ⁷
1SG	nyungga	ku-	-nggu	-ka	-ngga	-nggunya
2SG	nyumu	(m)u-	-mu	-kau	-nggau	-munya
3SG	nyuna	na-	-na	-ya	-nya	-nanya
1P.I	nyuta	ta-	-nda	-ta	-nda	-ndanya
1P.E	nyuma	ma-	-ma	-kama	-nggama	-manya
2PL	nyimi	(m)i-	-mi	-ka(m)i	-ngga(m)i	-minya
3PL	nyuda	da-	-da	-ha	-nja	-danya

Synchronically, these are distinct paradigms, but observe the formal relations that pertain between the paradigms: the genitive enclitics are prenasalised forms of the nominative proclitics (except for 3pl.NOM *da-* and 3pl.GEN *-da*), and the dative clitics are prenasalised forms of the accusative ones (though 3pl.ACC *-ha* and 3pl.DAT *-nja* involves more than just simple prenasalisation).⁸ The clitic cluster may contain up to nine clitics, and apart from the pronominal clitics, it contains modal and aspectual clitics in various shapes and combinations, for example marking emphasis, and aspect (*ka* 'perfective', *pa* 'imperfective', *i* 'iterative').⁹ Kambera does not mark tense grammatically.

Kambera has two types of O: direct O (Patients, Themes), and indirect O (Recipients, Benefactives, Goals, Locations), and both may be marked (also simultaneously) on the PredP.

In a transitive declarative clause, A can be nominative or genitive, and a direct O can be accusative or dative:¹⁰

⁶ A = most agent-like argument in a transitive clause, O = most patient-like argument in a transitive clause, S = single argument of an intransitive clause (cf. Dixon 1979, 1994, Andrews 1985). Structural motivation to view Kambera S/A as 'subject' and O as 'object' is presented in Klammer (1998a: 72-77).

⁷ This paradigm diachronically derives from a combination of the Genitive paradigm plus a 3sg Dative clitic; see the discussion in section 3.3. below.

⁸ For more discussion of the paradigm forms, see Klammer (1998a: 62).

⁹ It is beyond the scope of this paper to present a formal account of the very complex patterns of clitic placement in a Kambera clause. In Klammer (1997) the placement of the Kambera clitics is analysed as the result of a morphological spell-out of morphosyntactic feature bundles at the interface between syntax and prosody: the postlexical level.

¹⁰ Notational conventions: In the notation of the examples a clitic is separated from its (syntactic) host by a dash [-] and an affix is separated from its base by a dot [.] when this is relevant for the discussion.

- (3) a. Ku-tàru-ya
 1SG.NOM-watch-3SG.ACC
 'I watch him.'
 b. Tàru-nggu-nya
 watch-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT
 'I am watching him.'

The canonical marking of direct objects is accusative, as in (3a), while the canonical marking of the indirect object is dative, as in (4a). In case of a ditransitive verb, as in (4), the indirect O is always cross-referenced if it is definite, (4a).¹¹ In addition, the direct O may also be cross-referenced if it is definite. In such cases, it follows the indirect O marking clitic, as in (4b). In this position, it must be dative because of clitic cluster restrictions.

- (4) a. I Ama na-kei-nja rí
 ART father 3SG.NOM-buy.for-3PL.DAT vegetable
 'Father buys them vegetables.' (indefinite Patient)
 b. I Ama na-kei-ngga-nya
 ART father 3SG.NOM-buy.for-1SG.DAT-3SG.DAT
 'Father buys it for me.' (definite Patient)

Direct and indirect O share the property of only being cross-referenced if they are definite. The grammatical definiteness of an NP is marked by the presence of an article (*na* for singulars, *da* for plurals, *i* for humans). The absence of the article renders an NP indefinite. Definite NPs are cross-referenced on the predicate and optionally doubled, indefinite object NPs are not cross-referenced, and are either left implicit (to be inferred from the context), or expressed as indefinite ('bare') NPs. Syntactically, there are two major clause types: clauses with a verbal predicate (of which we saw some examples above), and clauses with a non-verbal (nominal, numeral, or locational) predicate. Kambera has no copular verb; S is simply attached to the nominal (or numeral, or locational) PredP. The S of non-verbal predicates is always marked as O, with either an accusative, as in (5) and (6), or with a dative, (7).

Accents on vowels mark contrastive vowel length. Note on translations: 3sg pronominals in Kambera are neutral with respect to gender but are translated as male, unless the context demands otherwise. Verbs are not marked for tense; the tense used in the translations was determined by the original context of the utterances.

¹¹ Though clauses with indefinite indirect objects are rare in Kambera, they do exist. In such clauses, the verb has an applicative suffix, and the direct object is also indefinite or implicit (cf. Klammer 1998: 198, 203). For example:

(i) Jàka ngga-nggamu bia, nda na-wua.ng-a
 If RED-who just NEG 3SG.NOM-give.APP-MOD
 'He doesn't give it to just anyone.' (*ngga-nggamu* lit. 'whoever')

- (5) [Tau hàmu]_{NP-ya}
 person be.good-3SG.ACC
 'He's a good person.'
- (6) [Lai nú]_{PP-ya}
 LOC DIST-3SG.ACC
 'He/she/it is there.'
- (7) [Mbapa-nggu]-nya
 husband-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT
 'He is my husband.'

The dative marking of S in (7) is another instance of the idiosyncratic constraint on pronominal clitic clusters, according to which the second pronominal enclitic must always be dative.

In the following sections, I discuss various additional ways in which the S, the argument of intransitive predicates, can be marked. I show that the differential subject marking in Kambera consists of five distinct markings of S: nominative (3.1), genitive (3.2), genitive plus dative (3.3), nominative plus accusative (3.4), and accusative (3.5). We will see that the variable markings depend on information from various subcomponents of the grammar, so that a formal account cannot be uniform for all markings. Classic ways to explain why S's are marked like O's such as the account of Burzio (1981), assume that the lexical entry of intransitive verbs contains information about the internal/external status of their single argument, as well as its semantic role. According to these properties, intransitive verbs are assigned to distinct lexical classes (e.g. 'unergative' verbs such as *run* versus 'unaccusative' verbs such as *fall*). It will be shown that the Kambera data cannot be accounted for along these lines.

3. THE MARKING OF S IN KAMBERA

In Kambera, there are five different ways to mark S with pronominal clitics, and these markings are determined by a variety of factors, including the discourse function of a clause, its aspectual properties, and the amount of 'control' S has over the action or event. We will see that none of the S-marking morphemes are selected on the basis of information encoded in the lexical entry of the verb alone.

3.1 Nominative

Subjects, both transitive (A) and intransitive (S), are canonically nominative. S is nominative with both active and non-active verbs:

- (8) Da-tama la kurung
 3PL.NOM-enter LOC room
 'They enter the room.'

- (9) Na ài na-tambuta dàngu amung
 ART.SG wood 3SG.NOM-drop.out with root
 ‘That tree is uprooted.’

3.2 Genitive

In Kambera, many clauses have a S/A that is marked with a genitive enclitic. I refer to these as nominal clauses, and simple examples are the first clauses in (10) and (11):

- (10) [Bidi njoru-na na ài]_{CLAUSE} [ba talànga
 just.now fall-3SG.GEN ART.SG wood CNJ while
 nàhu-ngga]_{CLAUSE}¹²
 move.away-1SG.DAT
 ‘The tree fell when I walked by.’
- (11) [Ka tama-du-na]_{CLAUSE} [hi na-wanga-ya na bi
 CNJ enter-EMP-3SG.GEN CNJ 3SG.NOM-open-3SG.ACC ART.SG real
 ngara-na]_{CLAUSE}
 mouth-3SG.GEN
 ‘So he goes inside then he opens its beak...’

In clausal sequences such as these, the second clause expresses the events that constitute the main narrative line, while the first, nominal clause presents the background information. Although nominal clauses are dependent in discourse, syntactically they are not: they may be juxtaposed or coordinated to another clause, or govern a controlled clause.

Kambera nominal clauses have the external syntax of possessed NPs. They can be clefted, or occur in comparisons:

- (12) Hama pingu-mi dàngu ama-mi
 be.same know-2PL.GEN and father-2PL.GEN
 ‘You (pl) and your fathers are equally bright.’
 (lit. (The) same (is) your knowing and your father.’¹³

Nominal clauses may be marked for definiteness with an article (sg. *na*, pl. *da*), as illustrated in (12). If a nominal clause is definite, it can be crossreferenced as an argument of the main verb, as in (13), (16) and (17).

¹² Incidentally, this sentence illustrates an additional marking of S which only applies to the S of four directional motion verbs. These verbs are derived from deictic elements by the addition of a suffix *.ng* (*ni.ng(u)* ‘be (at speaker)’, *na.ng(u)* ‘come (towards addressee)’, *nàmu.ng* ‘move towards speaker’ and *nàhu.ng* ‘move (past/away from speaker)'). The S of these verbs is obligatorily marked with a dative clitic, and cannot be marked otherwise, cf. Klammer (1998a:148-151).

¹³ The literal translation of this sentence cannot be ‘the knowing of [you and your father] is the same’, since *pingu-mi* ‘your knowing’ is an indefinite nominal clause. What is juxtaposed here is the proposition ‘your knowing’ and ‘your father’ (rather than ‘you’ and ‘your father’).

- Internally, nominal clauses are indeed clauses: they may contain mood and aspect clitics, as in (14a), as well as negations, as in (15). Such grammatical elements cannot occur inside possessed NPs, as illustrated in (14b). Nominal clauses may also contain full NPs; for example, (15) contains the NP *da ana-na* 'his children'.

- Nominal clauses may function as syntactic complements when they are crossreferenced as the S or O of a main verb. Such 'complement' nominal clauses are a tiny minority in my database -- normally nominal clauses occur as independent main clauses. Two examples of 'complement' nominal clauses are (16) and (17). In (16) the nominal clause is a definite NP that follows the main verb and is marked as the S of that verb (*hàmu* 'be good'). In (17) we find a nominal clause in O function.

- Example (18) contains two nominal clauses, one being the main clause, the other functioning as the O of the verb *ita* ‘see’, being crossreferenced with *-nya*:

¹⁴ Despite the fact that it translates as ‘that’ in English, *ka* is glossed as a conjunction (like *ba*, *hi*, *jàka*, etc.). All of these are coordinating conjunctions, Kambera has no subordinating conjunctions or complementisers. See Klammer (1998a:143, and section 8.2).

- (18) ...ba lalu ita dí-na-nya_O-i-ka nú [na lalu
 CNJ too see EMPH-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-ITER-PFV DIST ART.SG too
 mbuha-na-nya na ana njara parai-na nyuna
 like-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT ART.SG child horse work-3SG.GEN he
 yena i Umbu Mada]_O
 this.one ART.PERS Sir Mada
 ‘...because only too well did he see... the big liking of the foal by Sir
 Mada.’ (i.e. that Sir Mada liked the foal very much)

This example is another illustration that a nominal clause is more than a nominalised verb: the entity crossreferenced on the main verb here is the constituent [*na lalu..... i Umbu Mada*]. This is a nominal constituent which contains an article, an adverb, a verb, two pronominal clitics, a Patient NP (*na ana njara*) and an NP that contains the Agent *i Umbu Mada*. (For more discussion, see Klammer 2006.)

In sum, many Kambera clauses (whether or not syntactically independent) have a genitive S/A. These nominal clauses have the external syntax of NPs, but their internal structure is clausal.

Despite their usual syntactic independency, the discourse status of nominal clauses is dependent – their core function is to present the background information in the discourse, instead of the expressing the main narrative line. Typically (though not exclusively) nominal clauses express irrealis mood, and are non-agent oriented. In other words, the genitive marking of S or A relates to various subcomponents of the grammar: not only the discourse function of a clause, but also its modal (irrealis) properties, and whether the clause is agent-oriented or not (see Klammer 1998a, section 4.2.1, and 5.3-5.5).

3.3 Genitive and dative

The third way to mark S is by using a combination of a genitive and a dative enclitic. The genitive marks person and number of S, while the dative is always the same 3sg form *-nya*. Both active and stative verbs can take such a complex S marking:

- (19) Laku-nggu-nya
 go-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT
 ‘I’m going’
 (20) Poki-na-nya? Mm, poki-na-nya
 be.blind-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT yes be.blind-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT
 ‘Is he blind?’ ‘Yes, he’s blind.’

This particular clitic combination expresses ‘continuative’ aspect, that is, it marks the event specifically as continuous, as in (21a), also in combination with any of the three aspect enclitics, as in (21b-d). In contrast, marking the S with nominative (22a-c) or genitive (23) allows for various interpretations, including past, present, future, completed, and uncompleted, depending on the grammatical context.

- (21) a. Mutung-na-nya na uma
 burn-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT ART.SG house
 ‘The house is burning/aflame.’
 b. Mutung-na-nya-ka na uma
 burn-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-PFV ART.SG house
 ‘The house has been burning/aflame.’
 c. Mutung-na-nya-pa na uma
 burn-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-IPFV ART.SG house
 ‘The house is still burning/aflame.’
 d. Mutung-na-nya-i na uma
 burn-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-ITER ART.SG house
 ‘The house is burning/aflame again.’
- (22) a. Na-mutung na uma
 3SG.NOM-burn ART.SG house
 ‘The house burns/is burned/is burning/will burn.’ etc. (depending on
 context)
 b. Na-mutung na uma jàka u-pajulu wàngu epi
 3SG.NOM-burn ART.SG house if/when 2SG.NOM-play use fire
 ‘The house will burn down if/when you play with fire.’
 c. Na-mutung-ka na uma
 3SG.NOM-burn-PFV ART.SG house
 ‘The house is burned (down).’
- (23) Muda’a mutung-na na uma ba u-pajulu wàngu epi
 easy burn-3SG.GEN ART.SG house CNJ 2SG.NOM-play use fire
 ‘When you play with fire the house may burn down easily.’
 (Lit. ‘It is easy for the house to burn down when you play with fire.’)¹⁵

The continuative aspect construction is formally related to the nominal clause. The GEN-DAT marked forms are diachronically derived from nominal predicates, where the head is a nominal clause rather than a noun. For example, *Mbapa-nggu-nya* ‘husband-1sg.GEN-3sg.DAT’ in (7) is a clause with a predicate that consists of the possessed NP *mbapa-nggu* ‘my husband’. This nominal predicate occurs in the equative nominal construction ‘He (is) my husband’. The occurrence of the dative clitic rather than the accusative, which is normally the S marker on nominal predicates (see (5) and (6)), arises from a linear restriction on clitic co-occurrence, which states that second pronominal enclitics can only be dative. This implies that a genitive S-marking enclitic cannot be linearly followed by an accusative, but rather must be followed by a dative, even though the clitics belong to different syntactic constituents (i.e., NP versus clause).

Possessed nominal predicates may have a verbal head as well. In such cases, the nominal predicate is in fact a nominal clause (as discussed in section 3.2). For

¹⁵ In (a) the initial clause (‘the house may burn down easily’) is a nominal clause, in (b) it is not. In (c), ‘playing with fire’ is thus presented as the main event in discourse, the nominal clause being its possible result, while in (b) both clauses have the same discourse status.

example, in (24), the head of the nominal predicate is the nominal clause ‘the burning of the house’, and the S is accusative *-ya*:

- (24) [Mutung-na na uma]-ma-ya, hi na-meti tau....
 burn-3SG.GEN ART.SG house-EMPH-3SG.ACC CNJ 3SG.NOM-die person
 ‘It (is) [because of] the house burning down that people died...’

Because of clitic cluster restrictions, the accusative *-ya* is replaced by dative *-nya* when it is linearly adjacent to the genitive:

- (25) [Mutung-na]-ya *clitic cluster* Mutung-na-nya
 Burn-3SG.GEN -3SG.ACC *restrictions >* burn-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT
 ‘?’ lit. ‘It (is) its burning.’

Clauses with a GEN-DAT clitic sequence have been grammatically reanalyzed as constructions with a particular aspectual function, the continuative aspect (cf. the paradigm in (2) above). The reanalysis involved a development where equative nominal constructions such as ‘it (is) [its burning]’ were reinterpreted as constructions marking continuative aspect ‘it (is) burning’.¹⁶

3.4 Nominative and accusative

The fourth way to mark S is by using a nominative and an accusative pronominal clitic simultaneously, as in:

- (26) [I Miri Yehu]_j na_j-mài-ya_j la pinu tana
 ART.PERS Lord Jesus 3SG.NOM-come-3SG.ACC LOC top earth
 ‘The Lord Jesus did come down to earth.’

Both clitics have the same referent, namely the S of the clause, *I Miri Yehu*: when the S is pluralised, both clitics become plural.¹⁷ This double S marking marks epistemic modality: it functions to express the speaker’s (certain) belief, (26), the speaker’s expectation, (27a) (compare 27b)), or an obligation, (28a), (compare (28b)).¹⁸

¹⁶ Nominal constructions that developed into constructions with particular aspectual functions have been attested cross-linguistically. In Dutch, for instance, the progressive aspect is expressed by a construction expressing equation between a subject and a PP containing an NP: *Hij is [aan [het rennen]]_{NP}* ‘He is [to [the run]]’ > ‘He is running’. For more discussion on this pattern of grammaticalisation in Kambera, see Klammer (2000: 60 ff.).

¹⁷ Since only core arguments are cross-referenced on the Kambera verb, and locations are expressed as adjuncts, the clitics do not refer to PPs like *la pinu tana* ‘on earth’, nor to the N within PPs.

¹⁸ A sense of obligation is also expressed by non-canonical case marking in Urdu (Butt and King 1991), when A is marked dative rather than ergative.

- (27) a. E! Na-mbata-ya-ka nú!
 EXCL 3SG.NOM-be.broken-3SG.ACC-PFV DIST
 'Hey! It is almost breaking/will surely break.'
 b. E! Na-mbata-ka nú!
 EXCL 3SG.NOM-be.broken-PFV DIST
 'Hey! It's broken!'
- (28) a. Da-laku-ha pa-rama haromu
 3PL.NOM-go-3PL.ACC CTR-work tomorrow
 'They must/have to go to work tomorrow.'
 b. Da-laku pa-rama haromu
 3PL.NOM-go CTR-work tomorrow
 'They go/will go to work tomorrow.'

Native speakers observed that the construction does not always express such epistemic moods; in some contexts it may be used as an alternative with no special semantics. For example, (29a,b) are alternative constructions with no semantic difference. (29c) shows that in case one of the two clitics is omitted, it must be the accusative, not the nominative.

- (29) a. Da-tama-ha la kurung ba ku-yaulu-ha
 3PL.NOM-enter-3PL.ACC LOC room CNJ 1SG.NOM-chase-3PL.ACC
 'They entered the room when I chased them.'
 b. Da-tama la kurung ba ku-yaulu-ha
 3PL.NOM-enter LOC room CNJ 1SG.NOM-chase-3PL.ACC
 'They entered the room when I chased them.'
 c. *Tama-ha la kurung ba ku-yaulu-ha
 enter-3PL.ACC LOC room CNJ 1SG.NOM-chase-3PL.ACC
 Intended reading: 'They entered the room when I chased them.'

The question may be asked if this construction can be analyzed as a type of 'reflexive' S argument. I do not have good arguments for such an analysis. Kambera (transitive and intransitive) reflexives use a construction with the possessed nominal *wiki* 'self/own', as illustrated in (30), (31) and (32a). The NP with *wiki* is the O of a transitive construction, and as such may be indefinite or definite. If it is indefinite, it is not cross-referenced on the verb, as in (30), if it is definite, it is cross-referenced, as in (31).¹⁹

- (30) Ku-pa.ita.ng²⁰ wiki-nggu
 1SG.NOM-CAUS.see.APPL self-1SG.GEN
 'I showed/revealed myself (to someone).'

¹⁹ The *wiki* NP cannot be omitted, lest the sentence loses its reflexive reading, as in:

Ka ta-kinju-ha nyuta ha'atu-ha'atu
 CNJ 1PL.NOM-examine-3PL.ACC we RED-each.one
 'Let each one of us examine them.'

²⁰ *Pa.ita.ng* 'CAUS.see.APPL' > 'show' is a causative and applicative derivation based on the root *ita* 'see'. For details on the derivation of causatives and applicatives, see Klammer (1998a: 177-190, 197-213).

- (31) Ka ta-kinju-ha da wiki-nda
 CNJ 1PL.NOM-examine-3PL.ACC ART.PL self-1PL.GEN
 nyuta ha'atu-ha'atu
 we RED-each.one
 'Let's examine ourselves, each one of us.'

When the verb is intransitive, the NP containing *wiki* cannot be definite, and neither can it be cross-referenced as the O of the verb, compare (32a,b):

- (32) a. Imbu ndingir wiki-mu
 seek stand.up self-2SG.GEN
 'Try to be independent.' (Lit. 'Try yourself (to) stand up.')
- b. *Imbu ndingir-ya na wiki-mu
 seek stand.up-3SG.ACC ART.SG self-2SG.GEN

In other words, double marking of S does not occur in sentences with a reflexive reading. Neither can we take a sentence with a double S marking and make it (explicitly) reflexive by adding a *wiki*-NP, as shown in (33).

- (33) *Na-mài-ya na wiki-na la pinu tana
 3SG.NOM-come-3SG.ACC ART.SG self-3SG.GEN LOC top earth

In other words, the accusative enclitic is not used to refer reflexively to S, and it cannot be used to crossreference the canonical reflexive *wiki*-NP in intransitive clauses.

The double-S construction has a restricted use, as it is mainly used in specific registers, poetic and/or religious texts and is considered archaic. It was used more widely at the beginning of this century; Wielenga (1909:47, 51-53) gives several examples that were considered grammatical at the time, but are judged as ungrammatical by present-day speakers; e.g.:

- (34) *Na-manandang-ya na uma-nggu
 3SG.NOM-be.beautiful-3SG.ACC ART.SG house-1SG.GEN
 'My house is beautiful.'

Other examples of Wielenga are still considered grammatical today, though the use of only the nominative clitic is preferred, e.g.:

- (35) Hi da-beli-ha la uma
 CNJ 3PL.NOM-return-3PL.ACC LOC house
 'And they went back home.'

In the following section (3.5) I will discuss a number of grammatical contexts where S is obligatorily marked like O, with an accusative, and that in addition, Kambera allows for optional accusative S's. This pattern may be considered as a kind of absolutive-ergative alignment that applies to certain circumscribed domains

of the grammar. In addition, in Kambera morphology we find some traces of an earlier absolutive-ergative alignment system (cf. Klammer 1998a:76, 262-270). This suggests that there may have been a stage in the language's development where it mixed an absolutive-ergative alignment system with a nominative-accusative one. The use of the nominative-accusative to mark S may reflect such a 'mixed' stage. Note that the construction is only used marginally and has mostly archaic connotations. The nominative marking of S has now clearly become the canonical one; i.e. the mixed alignment system of which Wielenga documented some examples has largely been replaced by a nominative-accusative pattern.²¹ However, there are still a number of grammatical domains where the absolutive-ergative pattern prevails, as will be explained in the next section.

3.5 *Accusative*

In section 2 we saw that the S of non-verbal predicates is always accusative. Such predicates are inherently states rather than events. In the present section we will see that accusative marks S in a number of other contexts too: in imperatives, with 'foregrounded' predicates, with generic or impersonal referents, and with stative verbs modified for degree. In these contexts, it is obligatory to mark S accusative (3.5.1). In these cases, S is typically a non-volitional participant that is not in control of the situation. In addition, the accusative is an option for all intransitive verbs to express an S that is less in control than it would canonically be expected (3.5.2).²²

3.5.1 *Contexts with obligatory accusative*

In transitive imperatives, the accusative marks O, while the A (addressee) is left unexpressed:

- (36) Kinju-ha!
 examine-3PL.ACC
 'Examine them!'

S's in imperative clauses are always marked as O, with an accusative, as in (37); the addressee of intransitive imperatives cannot be expressed otherwise:

- (37) Katuda-kau nàhu!
 sleep-2SG.ACC now
 'Go to sleep now!'

²¹ One reviewer asks whether there are typical verbs that use this mixed pattern. Unfortunately, I do not know; all I can say is that my database contains less than a handful of spontaneous occurrences of double S marking, which suggests that it is a very marginal structure, and that they typically occur in religious or formulaic expressions.

²² Kambera is one of the nine (Austronesian and Papuan) languages of eastern Indonesia analysed in Klammer (in press) to have a 'semantic' alignment system. In these languages, the marking of S in verbal clauses is primarily determined by the semantic characteristics of S.

This pattern can be explained by the fact that an imperative subject is treated as someone who is not fully in control of the activity: the addressee of an imperative is told by someone else to do something.

Secondly, we find accusative S's with predicates that are 'fore-grounded' by e.g. repetition and/or left-dislocation of the verb, as in:

- (38) Tembang, nda tembang-a-ya-pa i Windi
 be.stupid NEG be.stupid-MOD-3SG.ACC-IPFV ART.PERS Windi
 '(As for) being stupid, Windi is no longer stupid.'

Thirdly, when stative verbs are modified for (excessive) degree, as in (39), their S is also accusative, since in these contexts too the emphasis is on the state expressed by the verb, while the argument is portrayed as an entity that is part of it:

- (39) Dira mayila ailulu-kama
 extremely be.need very-1PL.ACC
 'We are so very, very poor.'

And finally, an S with a generic or impersonal referent, expressed with a 3sg enclitic, as in (40), is also marked accusatively. In such contexts, too, the emphasis is on the verb, while the impersonal or generic S is a referentially underspecified participant:

- (40) Jàka nda nyumu, meti-ya-ka làti
 CNJ NEG you die-3SG.ACC-PFV in.fact
 'Without you, one/we would die/have died.'

In sum, the common denominator of all the grammatical contexts where S is obligatorily marked with an accusative, is that they all emphasise the *situation* of which S is a part. S is cast as an entity that is *part of* that situation, rather than an actively controlling or volitionally involved participant.

3.5.2 Contexts with optional accusative

In addition to contexts where S is obligatorily accusative, there are also contexts where the choice for an accusative S is optional, and semantically determined. Consider the following sentences which only contrast on the marking of S:

- (41) a. Hí-ma-a-ya-ka i Umbu Mada una
 cry-EMPH-MOD-3SG.ACC-PFV ART.PERS Sir Mada EMPH.3SG
 'Sir Mada just cried and cried.' (i.e. could do nothing else)
 b. Hí-ma-a-na-nya-ka i Umbu Mada
 cry-EMPH-MOD-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-PVF ART.PERS Sir Mada
 una
 EMPH.3SG
 'Sir Mada was crying.' (but could have chosen not to)

As indicated by the translations, the contrast between *-ya* and *-nanya* in these two sentences is that the accusative S is less in control than the S marked with a genitive and dative enclitic. In other words, S can (optionally) be presented as a less controlling participant in the state of affairs by marking it accusative.

Though I have not tested this for all intransitives, the productivity of the pattern for those that I did test suggests that all Kambera intransitive verbs would allow for an optionally accusative S, and all of these accusative S's are interpreted as 'less controlling' than they canonically are expected to be. Verbs attested with accusative S include activity verbs (*pabànjär* 'chat'), directional verbs (*mài* 'come (towards speaker)'), as well as verbs denoting events (*meti* 'die', *hí* 'cry'), processes (*kalit* 'to grow dark'), or states (*hàmu* 'be good', *hangunja* 'sit idly, sit doing nothing').

There is, however, one morphological class of intransitive verbs that systematically does not take accusative S's: the verbs derived with the prefix *ta.*, illustrated in (42). *Ta.* is a productive prefix that derives intransitive verbs from transitive and intransitive bases. The derived forms express uncontrolled, unintentional, involuntary or unexpected achievements:

(42)	<i>bunggah</i>	'X open Y'	<i>ta.bunggah</i>	'Y is open (accidentally, etc.)'
	<i>lunggur</i>	'X scrape Y'	<i>ta.lunggur</i>	'Y is sore (accidentally, etc.)'
	<i>lukur</i>	'to be huddled'	<i>ta.lukur</i>	'Y is huddled (involuntarily)'
	<i>nggàjir</i>	'to shake'	<i>ta.nggàjir</i>	'Y shakes (involuntarily)'
	<i>mbutuh</i>	'to slip off'	<i>ta.mbutuh</i>	'Y slips off (accidentally, unexpectedly)'

The S of *ta*-verbs cannot be accusative:

(43)	*Na	ài	nuna	tambuta-ya-ka	dàngu	amung
	ART.SG	tree	that.one	drop out-3SG.A-PFV	with	root

Because the *ta*-verbs are uncontrolled, unintentional, involuntary achievements, their S is a non-controlling participant by default, and since the nominative is used as the default case - accusative only being used to specifically indicate that the expected control of S is not present - , the S of *ta.* verbs is marked as nominative.²³ This will be further discussed in section 4.

In sum, in this section, we have seen that S is obligatory accusative in those syntactic contexts where the emphasis is on the entire state of affairs, with S being cast as an entity that is part of it. With all intransitive verbs, S can optionally be

²³ The argument marking of these verbs is different from underived intransitives in other respects too. For instance, S cannot be marked with a genitive, or with the genitive-dative combination (the continuative aspect construction). Often the S is not cross-referenced on the verb at all, as in (i):

(i)	Na	ài	nuna	ta.mbuta-ka	dàngu	amung
	ART.SG	tree	that.one	drop.out -PFV	with	root
	'That tree is uprooted.'					

marked accusative to present it as less actively controlling. The class of *ta.* verbs are an exception: their non-controlling S can never be accusative, only nominative.

4. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The data discussed above lead to a number of general conclusions on:

- (i) the variation in the morphological marking of S
- (ii) how the case marking of S relates to its default/unmarked semantic role
- (iii) the lexical representation of intransitive verbs

In section 4.1 I summarise point (i), in section 4.2 I discuss point (ii) and (iii). In section 4.3, I explain how the pattern of S marking for underived intransitives is applied to two classes of derived intransitive verbs.

4.1 Variation in the morphological marking of S

S can be marked in five different ways, each with its own function, briefly recapitulated here for the verb *meti* ‘to die, to be dead’:

- (44) Nominative: default unmarked expression of S
 Jàka nda nyumu, da-meti-ka làti
 CNJ NEG you 3SG.NOM-die-PFV in.fact
 ‘Without you, they would die/they would have died.’
- (45) Genitive: Irrealis mood, non-agent orientation, dependent discourse function.
 Mbàda meti-na-ka?
 already die-3SG.GEN-PFV
 ‘Is he dead already/has he died already?’
- (46) Genitive plus 3sg dative: continuative aspect.
 Ba na-habola tuna-ka nú,
 CNJ 3SG.NOM-give.birth thus-PVFDEI
 meti-ma-a-na-nya nyuna yena
 die-EMPH-MOD-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT she this.one
 ‘While/when she thus gave birth, she died/was dying.’
- (47) Nominative and accusative: epistemic modality; often special register/archaic.
 Jàka nda nyumu, da-meti-ha-ka làti
 if NEG you 3PL.NOM-die-3PL.ACC-PFV in.fact
 ‘Without you, they would die/have died for sure.’
- (48) Obligatory accusative S: non-verbal predicates, imperatives, generic/impersonal referents, with stative verbs modified for degree, with ‘foregrounded’ predicates. Optional accusative S: less controlling.
 Jàka nda nyumu, meti-ya-ka làti
 CNJ NEG you die-3SG.ACC-PFV in.fact
 ‘Without you, we would die/have died.’ (lit. ..one would have died)

We have seen that the choice for one of the various morphemes for S depends on information from various subcomponents of the grammar, including those representing notions of modality and aspect, as well as discourse.

4.2 *The lexical representation of intransitive verbs*

Regarding the lexical representation of intransitive verbs, Kambera does not present evidence for a formal distinction between classes of intransitive verbs (e.g., ‘unaccusative’ versus ‘unergative’ verbs). Every intransitive verbs may in principle occur in all of the five configurations, including the one with an accusative S, so none of the constructions is connected to a particular class of verbs. Furthermore, in embedded syntactic structures (e.g. control, relativization) as well as in morphological derivations (not discussed here, but see Klamer 1998a,b) all intransitive verbs (both active and stative ones) behave alike. That is, there is no structural evidence to assume a particular class of verbs whose S patterns like O (‘unaccusatives’) and another class whose S patterns like A (‘unergatives’). Thus the lexical argument structure of Kambera intransitives does not distinguish between internal and external arguments, and neither does the semantic/thematic content of the single argument of intransitives (as e.g. PATIENT, THEME or AGENT) link directly to the morphological case marking of S.²⁴ In other words, nominative and accusative, as well genitive and the continuative genitive+dative, may alternate with most intransitive verbs. Nominative being the unmarked case, it is used as the default marking of S, whatever its semantic role, including e.g. AGENT in active controlling intransitives such as *run, dance, scream*; THEME in statives such as *be small, be red*, or PATIENT in non-agentive events such as *die, fall*. When one wants to specifically indicate that the expected control of the S of active verbs is absent, the accusative is chosen to mark S instead. In addition, we saw in 4.1 that the choice for one of the other S morphemes depends on information from subcomponents of the grammar that represent notions of modality and aspect, as well as discourse.

4.3 *The S of morphologically derived verbs*

The perspective that the default case marker for S is nominative also accounts for the morphologically derived intransitive verbs. The first group are the verbs derived with *ta*. that express involuntary, incidental, or accidental events. By default, the S of these verbs is a non-controlling, non-volitional entity, and the default marking of it is nominative. In fact, nominative is the only marking that is allowed: intransitives derived with *ta*. do not allow S to be accusative, because the variable interpretation of S as a less controlling, less volitional entity is not available.

²⁴ These data are problematic for most analytical approaches that assume a close relation between abstract argument structure and morphological case, such as e.g. Bittner and Hale (1996). See de Hoop and Narasimhan (this volume, section 4), for similar observations.

The second group of derived intransitives are the anticausative verbs. The anticausative prefix is a nasal that modifies the initial stop consonant of a transitive base verb, resulting in a derived verb with a prenasalized initial stop:²⁵

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| (49) | kodang | 'X move Y' | nggodang | 'Y is loose/moving' (e.g. tooth) |
| | buta | 'X pluck/weed Y' | mbuta | 'Y is plucked/weeded' |
| | pàda | 'X extinguish Y' | mbàda | 'Y is gone out/X is extinguished' |

Like the *ta.* derivations, the anticausative derives non-active, non-controlled intransitive verbs from transitive base forms. Unlike the *ta.* derivations, however, the morphological marking of the S of anticausatives shows the same variation as the S of underived verbs. How can we explain this?

One relevant factor is the productivity of the derivational process involved. Unlike the *ta.* derivation, the anticausative is no longer a productive morphological process -- though there are many semantically transparent pairs of transitive ~ anticausative verbs. Related to their unproductivity is the fact that anticausatives are semantically less regular than the *ta.* verbs. For example, anticausatives may, or may not, imply agents: in *mbuta* 'to be plucked/weeded' an actor is implied because weeding can only be done by an actively involved participant. However, the verb *mbàda* simply indicates the achievement that a fire is no longer burning -- this may be the result of having gone out 'by itself' or by an agent extinguishing it. Anticausatives thus have a more variable, irregular, interpretation than *ta.* verbs. In addition, while speakers always consider *ta.* verbs as morphologically complex, they analyse anticausatives as morphologically simple forms. Since they are analysed as underived intransitives, anticausative verbs mark their S following the same patterns that are allowed for underived intransitives, using the nominative as the default case, the accusative for a less controlled S, and the other markings in their respective contexts.

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²⁵ For more information on this process, as well as example sentences, cf. Klamer (1998a: 262-265).

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